

## INTRODUCTION

The publication of International Bulletin will make known to American workers the ideas, platform and class struggle activity of the Left Communist International. Heretofore knowledge of the ideas of the Left Communist International was received mainly from sources at second hand. Naturally, this revolutionary marxist current was subject to misrepresentation at the hands of false friends in America. Many of these friends sought and now seek to dress themselves in the cloak of Marxism by attempting to get themselves recognized as the American representatives of the Left Communist International in spite of profound political differences. These friends may be found in the camp of Trotskyism (Cannon-Shactman, Oelher-Okun).

The attractive power of the Left Communist International is understandable. It is the only mass movement of a revolutionary marxist character on the European continent and for that matter in the world. It is militantly anti-capitalist and anti-stalinist. The Left Communist International is rooted in the daily lives of the workers in Western Europe, especially in Italy.

The International Bulletin will seek to point the way to effective struggle against American capitalism and its imperialist policy abroad.

The platform of the Left Communist International will be the basis for the development of its sister party in America, with strategic adaptation to the specific needs of the American Working Class. Mechanical transfer of platforms and programs from one country to another is alien to the concepts of the L.C.I. Sectarianism of this type, as all sectarianism, leads to bureaucracy and isolation from one's own working class.

We invite comment, critical or otherwise from all who wish to build a revolutionary party in America. This party will reject defense of Russian Imperialism and American Imperialism; English and French Imperialism, Dutch and Belgium Imperialism. It will defend the interests of the workers in field, factory and mines in the Imperialist nations against their oppressors, the Capitalists at home. It will defend the colonial workers and peasants against their capitalist oppressors at home and their imperialist masters abroad. The L.C.I. in the U.S., as its forces grow will participate ever more effectively in the class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the rule of the workers.

At this stage we are not a party in America. This is our immediate goal. To that end a national left wing conference as a preliminary step to the building of a party with a marxist platform will be called. Revolutionary groups and individuals seeking a break with Russian defensism, as well as from Imperialism in general are invited to join with us in the herculean task of winning the American workers to revolutionary class consciousness.

We extend the hand of comradeship to our Italian, French and Belgian comrades.

We pledge ourselves to carry on the struggle for a Marxist party in America.

## SITUATION OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS

American Imperialism is seeking to perpetuate world capitalism. It is implementing the Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan for that purpose. We cannot help but recall the Dawes Plan after World War I, initiated by the U.S., and the result defeat of the proletarian revolution in Europe following upon the workers victory in Russia of October, 1917. Then, the U.S. imperialists came into conflict with revolutionary soviets. Today, the conflict is between Imperialist America and Imperialist Russia, foreshadowing World War III.

The Truman doctrine and Marshall plan disguise their anti-working class character under the cloak of freedom of small nations under democracy. Democracy and freedom, of course, is any state that, regardless of its form of rule, becomes a buffer for U.S. against the Imperialist expansion of Russia.

The present foreign policy of American imperialism cannot be understood unless the workers understand that the domestic policies of American capitalism are part and parcel of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. The national significance of these plans are lost sight of in the glare of international imperialist power politics. It is important to establish the fact that along with its plans for Imperialist domination abroad, U.S. capitalism has its domestic plans for lowering the standard of living of the American workers by weakening and paralyzing their struggle for existence.

What is the connection between this anti-working class drive at home and American Imperialist policy abroad?

The basic contradictions of capitalism are decisive in driving U.S. Imperialism to organize the world for the benefit of its own ruling class. To be successful it must weaken the workers' position in capitalist society at home. The contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation is the root of the class struggle in U.S. The U.S. capitalists are trying a variation on their old strategy to destroy the workers' weapons of economic and political defense. This is the basic class drive of the capitalists to abolish the class struggle for the benefit of their dictatorship, masked by bourgeois democratic forms.

The American worker faces the problem of providing food, shelter and clothing, in a sharply rising tide of price and profit. Prices on food are up 29%. Clothing has risen 171/2%. All other items up 171/2%. Wages and salaries have gone down from 70.2% to 62.4% of national income in 4th quarter of 1946. Corporate profits after taxes of the Iron and Steel Industry is almost 500%, Machinery 275%, Automotive 399%, Non-Ferrous Metals and products 175%, Food, Beverages, Tobacco over 400%, Oil producing and refining over 350%, Industrial Chemicals over 350%. The average weekly take-home pay of the workers in 1947 averages \$48.86. His weekly buying power averages \$30.16 (From "Economic Outlook", C.I.O.) The value of sales rose sharply in 1947 with a fluctuation downward recorded in April, 1947; but the total volume of goods has sharply declined. Obviously, higher prices as an inducement for capitalism to expand has not resulted in increased production of goods, but has created artificial restraints on production in order to keep price and profit up. The admonition to the workers by the capitalist spokesman that the workers must work harder; work longer hours in order to keep up volume production of goods is so much fakery.

Charles Van Devander in his column Washington Memo in New York Post of Friday September 5th, 1947 reports of meetings between leaders of basic industry and moulders of government policy. At these meetings, it is reported a leading spokesman for the steel industry admitted the recent coal wage and price boost could have been absorbed without raising steel prices. He also admitted that steel

could make ample profits and expand besides at 90% of present capacity. But, he said, steel had to prepare for the "bust" ahead. Similar statements were made by a leading capitalist of the auto industry. These are the straws in the wind. American Capitalism is "planning" for a certain depression. Lay-offs of workers are another indication of the coming crisis. As of March to May 1947, 251,000 were unemployed in manufacturing; Textile and apparel, 143,000; electrical goods 60,000; Rubber products, 16,000; a total of 394,000 idle. Of course, to bourgeois cynics; if unemployment is under 2,000,000, the workers are prosperous. On Sept. 5th, 1947 the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported for June 1947 net spendable weekly earnings of single workers without dependents averaged \$41.89 or \$26.50 in terms of 1939. The worker with 3 dependents, spendable earnings averaged \$47.37, or \$29.97 in terms of 1939. Evidently the workers are not prosperous.

Housing under capitalism was always wretched, but now is even more critical. Just as artificial scarcities of commodities under capitalism are utilized to jack up prices and profits, so the picture is repeated in the field of real estate. The recent rent law passed by congress to increase rents has been echoed by a host of local rent increase laws all over the nation. The workers are now faced with the problem of increased rents or evictions. Increased friction between landlord and worker to the point of shooting is reported nationally.

The American worker is getting the short end of the stick in every phase of his life from the cradle to the grave. The Taft-Hartley slave labor act was designed to outlaw any expression of resentment by the workers thru strikes, boycotts or political action.

In face of this ruthless drive by the capitalists and their government in Washington to paralyze the workers struggle for existence what is the picture regarding the democratic rights of workers?

The American Civil Liberties Union in an 89 page report entitled "In Times of Challenge," states "apparently justified scepticism as to the immediate future of our democratic liberties as instruments of progress! The report observes a "general retreat to nationalism, militarism and defense of status-quo, with liberal and minority forces everywhere on the defensive." The report was corroborated by a poll of 125 correspondents in all 48 states showing a "trend to greater restrictions on dissenters and minorities, particularly on any movement associated with the Communists." In its report the Union included among unfavorable developments; 4 lynchings, the acquittal in South Carolina of 28 "confessed lynchings," the enactment of the Taft-Hartley law and a U.S. Supreme Court decision approving use of public funds to transport pupils to Catholic parochial schools". Also a decision to extending the legality of search without warrant; the Presidents order for "dangerously vague tests" of the loyalty of federal employees and the "continued witch hunting crusade" of the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

Sporadic strikes in industry are increasing despite the political and economic pressure against the American workers. This is the real answer at present to the plutocrats of Wall Street and their stooges of both parties, Democrats and Republicans in Washington. This is the guerilla activity resulting from the failure of the C.I.O., A.F.L and R.R. Brotherhood leaders to call a general strike in protest against the continuing anti-working class campaign of U.S. capitalism. The class struggle picture is one of retreat and kow-towing to capitalism by the workers leadership.

The labor day messages of both C.I.O. and A.F.L. leaders was in essence acceptance of the Taft-Hartley Slave Act. Wasting the dues of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. workers in court actions while discouraging action thru the workers main weapon at present, the strike, is the collaborationist policy of the trade union leadership. Soft assurances to management of their cooperation with the boss class is the C.I.O.,

A.F.L. and R.R. Brotherhood answer to the Taft-Hartley slave act. Workers cannot expect any solution to their problems from the traitors at the head of their so-called unions.

Most insidious of all are the voices of the pseudo-lefts from the Communists (Stalinists) to the Trotskyites who in one voice advocate a labor party or a third party (if the democratic party cannot be reformed (Wallace)). The Stalinists have travelled from a program of "Socialism in one country" to a program for capitalism in all countries. The Trotskyites have travelled from "Permanent Revolution to "Permanent Reform." Labor Parties and or Populist third Parties will repeat with mathematical exactness the record of defeat and demoralization inflicted upon the downtrodden of Europe by the Labor Parties of the 2nd International, such as the British Labor Party with its record of colonial oppression in the middle east and the orient, and reduction of its own working class at home to a coolie standard of living.

The pseudo-left has nothing to offer the workers of America either. They are nothing but safety-valves to shoot off steam enabling the boss class to continue its dictatorship over the workers.

What is the course that has the best guarantee of smashing the oppressive rule of capitalism?

The most pressing need is for militants in the workers mass organizations to form fighting fractions against the labor-management line of their leadership; for a general strike against the Taft-Hartley slave act, for a 6 hour day 30 hour week, for \$60 a week. We know that no matter what is achieved thru immediate demands, wages and prices and profits cannot be adjusted to one another under capitalism. The need for a workers state as the prelude to Socialism must be told to the class by our class-conscious militants, openly and without any weasel words. They must learn the need for a party that is not corrupted by patriotism for capitalist Russia or capitalist America; a party of revolutionary Marxism.

The road to this party is not a simple one. The essential task is to turn the present retreat from the onslaught of the capitalists and their government into its opposite. An offensive all along the line against capitalism, its wars and recurring depression.

Labor is the "law". Labor is society. Without labor there is neither law nor society. Labor produces our food, fuel, shelter and clothing. Labor produces our economic and cultural values. Without labor there is no life. Labor is the dynamic giant. It is greater than the atomic bomb, for without labor there is no bomb. Therefore the workers, the living labor power has the potential to turn defeat today into victory to-morrow.

We must gird our loins for the continuing class struggle and take measures to increase the fighting power of workers to-day and tomorrow in the crisis of war and depression. This can be done by forging a revolutionary marxist party of the workers in the U.S.

In this period such a party would strengthen and guide the fighting fractions in the unions and mass organizations, uniting tenants and consumers groups with the workers at the point of production. The party would arouse the farm workers to the need for unity with the city workers on a program of revolutionary Socialism.

This is the road upon which the American workers can free themselves from the four fears; unemployment, war, depression and Fascism.



**FIRST CONFERENCE OF CONTACT OF THE LEFT COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (LCI)**

At the beginning of December there took place the first conference of contact of the French, Italian and Belgian organizations of the Left Communist International. This meeting was the occasion for a reaffirmation of common principles of the three organizations. Coming within the framework of a reactionary international situation where the bourgeoisie retains the political initiative, this meeting was unable to be the opportunity for launching directives for political action. Therefore the definitively formed International Bureau is not yet a political international, but the international affirmation of the Left Communist current.

Besides several practical organizational measures of division of tasks and mutual contacts between the three organizations, they decided to publish an International Bulletin, designed to affirm the positions that the Left defends in opposition to the pro-Russian policy of Trotskyists and the confusion of other groupings. One resolution taken up condemned the policy followed by a part of the Italian Left supported by the Belgian fraction at the end of the war. We will publish it later. The International Bureau is established as such an international proletarian center, affirming the continuity of revolutionary thought and action. The following constitutive declaration is adopted:

The organizations of the LCI, meeting in a founding Conference, such a revolutionary international current on the basis of the following constitutive declaration: they will elaborate a Declaration of Principles on the occasion of their first International Congress.

**CONSTITUTIVE DECLARATION**

**OF THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF ORGANIZATIONS  
OF THE LEFT COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**

The Conference of Contact of the LCI reaffirms the fundamental political positions which presided at the foundation of the Third International and which have been developed by the Italian Left Communists. In relation to the degeneration of parties of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, of the evolution of the capitalist regime and of the international situation of the working class, they declare:

In the present phase of imperialist capitalism, bourgeois society is evolving towards an ever-increasing control of the State in the economic and social field. This evolution has found its highest expression in the regime of Russian State capitalism; it characterizes in a more or less accentuated manner the development of all capitalist States, in a democratic as well as fascist regime. It can only be reinforced by the economic contradictions which, after having given birth to fascist totalitarianism and to the second world massacre, is shown to be aggravated in the post-war phase of capitalist reconstruction.

This ever more totalitarian intervention of the State should historically have its equivalent on the political plane. This is a form of domination of the bourgeois class which inherits without solution of continuity the authoritarian and totalitarian methods of fascism, while masking them behind the facade of a democratic mechanism. In fact, this mechanism serves only to give a greater elasticity and larger possibilities of maneuver to the apparatus of domination of the bourgeois over the working class.

### III

In 1921-22 the Left Communists affirmed already that the question was not posed for the proletariat to choose between democracy and fascism. This position appears as much more grounded today as democracy evolves unavoidably towards totalitarian methods. We see by that that fascism has only bequeathed itself the task of accomplishing still more efficaciously the historic mission that decadent capitalism had confided it. The only alternative for the working class is the survival of the capitalist dictatorship or its destruction by the conscious and organized force of the proletariat.

### IV

While the so-called workers' parties wallow in the mud of collaboration, devoting themselves to the reconstruction of capitalist society and going as far as to take the direction and political initiative, the LCI reaffirms its unbreakable opposition to all policy of compromise. This opposition concerns as much the policy of governmental parties as of those groupings issuing from the degeneration of the 3rd International, such as Trotskyism, which while employing a revolutionary phraseology sanctions in the proletariat the false belief that it can and must conquer intermediary positions in the ranks of capitalist society itself, to defend and consolidate pretended democratic conquests in order to be able to bind itself on the road to socialism. Neither democracy, nor fascism nor "sovietism" can be considered as progressive forms that the working class should support in order to cut a passage towards the seizure of power.

### V

In what concerns the said "sovietism," the notion of the degenerated proletarian state is today no longer valuable. The real criterion of the proletarian nature of the State does not reside in the juridic domain, but in the characteristics of the class of power: now the fact that in the international field Russia plays an openly counter-revolutionary and imperialist role demonstrates that that in the interior of the country the proletariat has lost the levers of command of society.

The present political and social regime in Russia has its historical origin in the regression of the isolated proletarian revolution in a single country. The forms which this regime assumes on the economic plane and in the field of property in the means of production (state property) contradict the alternative formerly posed by the communist movement in the terms "return to private capitalism" or "march towards socialism." These forms answer to the already primed international orientation of capitalism towards the totalitarian concentration of economy and political power.

The counter-revolution in Russia, in borrowing the form of the most developed and "purest" state capitalism have obviously done no "progressive" work (as the Trotskyists pretend) in relation to capitalism. It has prepared and realized the re-entry of Russia into the concert of imperialist states. It has made Russia herself one of the pillars of imperialism.

Therefore, from any healthy class point of view, it is quite evident that neither in peace nor in war has the proletariat to defend the present Moscow regime, in the same manner that it is evident that it has nothing to expect there for its emancipation.

### VI

As for nationalization, which in all countries shaken by the war link

the working class to the reconstruction of capitalist economy, the LCI declares that, far from constituting a "progress towards socialism," it realizes, by an ever-increasing exploitation of the proletariat, the conditions of subservience to the bourgeois class. These latter remaining in a collective organization of the economically dominant class.

No modification in the form of property in the means of production has revolutionary value if it is not the product of a radical modification of the relation of forces between the contending classes; i.e., on the international scale, in a revolutionary assault of the proletariat guided by its class party to political power.

The same principled position determines the political attitude of the LCI towards the transitional slogans (workers control, codirection, etc.) by which the pseudo-workers parties and opportunists endeavor to effectuate what is a means of consolidation of the capitalist regime for revolutionary conquests, or at least proletarian encroachments on the fundamental bases of this regime.

## VII

Imperialist capitalism is developing in a more or less rapid manner towards war. The degeneration of the Russian state and the treason of the old parties of the proletariat, the lack of fundamental organs of direction of the working class, give a tragic character of unavoidability to this perspective. Facing this the LCI will not permit itself to be trapped by slogans which from now on endeavor to give an ideological justification to the future massacre. It will fight as much the propaganda of a "democratic crusade against the great Anglo-American plutocracies." It will employ all its forces to reestablish in all countries the fundamental principles of Marxism, in order, in the social struggle that the crisis of capitalist economy will stake out and its tumbling into war, the proletariat finds in a class party its guide and in international action of the left communists the promise of its reappearance on the political scene in violent opposition to the war.

## VIII

The two rocks on which the entire vanguard runs the danger of foundering are on the one hand to lose itself in the opportunism of partial demands considered as sufficient in themselves, and on the other in reducing itself to a detached sect of the working class and elaborating political programs in the void. In a situation such as that of today the communist vanguard if it must defend at any price and in no matter what circumstances and even in the most reactionary phases the integrity of its program, still has the duty of welding the ensemble of its principled positions to the real unrolling of the class struggle.

## IX

The evolution of imperialist capitalism gives the LCI new arms in its relentless critique of the so-called representative institutions. It will pursue its pitiless work of demasking parliamentarism and the parties that demand a parliamentary and reformist conception of the proletarian struggle. However it will openly permit the discussion of the tactical problem of participation of the party in electoral campaigns on the base of an intransigent reaffirmation of the anti-parliamentary, anti-reformist and revolutionary character of the communist vanguard and of its independent in relation to all other political formations.

## X

The present general situation is the fruit of an international defeat of the working class and of its immobilization under the weight of a relation of forces clearly unfavorable. The unions have lost all autonomy and are chained to the State. The question cannot therefore be posed for the proletariat either to







ONE TASK OF ORIENTING THE CLASS STRUGGLE  
STATEMENT BY TRADE UNION FRACTION OF THE  
LEFT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY

Our program was presented by our comrades to the workers of the Alfa-Romeo factory, with their slate for the election to the Internal Commission. This was the conclusion of the struggle for the program of our union fraction, a program fought for in the interest of the working class.

I

The Party Fraction of the Internationalist Communist Party, is participating in the elections for the union committee for the Internal Commission in order to present our program to the workers.

The I.S.P. of the Internationalist Communist party poses as the fundamental problem today, the domination of the trade unions by the capitalist state, aided by the three opportunist mass parties of Italy, and the necessity to return to the traditional line of class struggle.

II

The proletariat is strait-jacketed in the hands of the capitalists, and because of this, is impotent and cannot defend its elementary interests.

We affirm, the class interests of the proletariat is possible of attainment only if the working class regains its capacity for independent struggle.

III

While the spontaneous mass demonstrations by the workers against unemployment and starvation helped by our determined agitation goes on, the present leadership of the Chamber of Labor try to intervene. They are perturbed by the agitation of the workers. They are concerned with the reconstruction of capitalist economy and therefore support the Government. The S.F. of the Internationalist C.P. recognizes therefore that the strike is the only weapon the proletariat has to defend its class against capitalism.

IV

The S.F. of the Int'l C.P. is against freezing wages. In effect it allows the capitalists to raise prices and increase profits. The disastrous economic condition of the workers will get worse if the wage freezing policy is maintained.

V

The S.F. of the Int'l C.P. participates in the new elections for the S.C. We call upon the masses of workers to elect to the I.C. a leadership which will defend the political interests of the trade unions.

VI

Against the bloc of the three parties of the masses that hold the power in the union. They are hypocritical and anti-democratic.

The representatives of the S.F. of the Int'l C.P. declares they are ready to take over the leadership of the I.C.

The following are the aims of our union policy:-

a) The duty of members of the I.C. is not to separate themselves from the masses in indecent collaboration with the bosses.

b) The I.C. should not lose itself behind secondary questions such as administration and distribution of compensation, but exercise control action in effective defense of the interests of the workers.

c) Thanks to the manner in which the present union leaders administer mutual benefits to the workers, there has been no change from the conditions of fascism. There must be a complete change of policy based upon the needs of the workers, without loss of time.

d) The I.C. must not substitute itself for the chamber of labor, but must exercise over this organism vigilant control in defense of the working class.

e) The I.C. must oppose discrimination between employed workers and those laid off.

"THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF THE SOVIET STATE"

I- State capitalism in Russia

The tendency towards fusion of industry with the state begun to a degree during the days of Marx, comes today as no surprise to the Marxists. The extreme coalescence of industry with the state apparatus as the basic tendency of modern capitalist organization is the result of the following important factors:

- 1: The continued process of accumulation of wealth and trustification.
- 2: The second imperialist war for the redivision of world markets.
- 3: The coordination and centralization of industry due to the requirements of modern warfare.
- 4: The pressure to organize the unemployed into a military and industrial reserve army.
- 5: The need to "guarantee" the state from internal explosion as a result of the sharpening of the capitalist crisis requires a uniform "plan" of economic regimentation of the population - rationing in production and distribution of consumers' goods, canalizing of productive agencies of industry and labor into making instruments of destruction; the outright suppression of workers' organs of struggle (Germany, Italy, Russia) or their paralysis and absorption into a so-called "democratic" labor front (England, U.S., France and Mexico to a lesser degree).
- 6: The increased costs of state financing, (storm troops, greater army, bureaucracy).

The Revolutionary Workers League does not seem to be aware of the developing state capitalism in the U.S. or anywhere else, for that matter, and the direct fusion of capitalists with the state. The Revolutionary Workers League concept of capitalism is limited to laissez-faire forms. According to this static formula, capitalism could return to Russia only if based on the old classical system of rugged individualism - individual owners and free competition. The theory of the uneven development of capitalism is discarded by the Revolutionary Workers League for the doctrinaire concept that the rise of a new capitalist class must recapitulate the old forms. The plain facts of recent current history do not affirm the contention that capitalist restoration in Russia, must demonstrate the existence of dual capitalists and free competition. The German invasion of the Ukraine was the decisive answer to those who think, that in order to prove that Russia is capitalist, we have got to marshal facts to show that there is individual or private capitalist accumulation in Russia. When the Wehrmacht penetrated the Soviet Ukraine, the Ukrainian Nationalists looked forward to dividing the collectivized economy into individual capitalist holdings. German Imperialism, instead retained the collectivized economy for the purpose of greater efficiency of production.

The State and the Economy

The class nature of the Russian state does not constitute for us an academic question. What is involved is the class nature of the state with respect to the proletarian seizure of power.

The revisionists, from Bernstein, Kautsky down to Blum and Co., all severed

politics as a head is severed from its living body. According to these demagogues private property in the means of production was reactionary while the political superstructure, the bourgeois parliament, the executive, the judiciary, navy, police, etc., organs of bourgeois domination were essentially progressive. By taking over the political system, they argued, the workers could gain control of the state for "expropriating" the propertied classes. The betrayal of the working class by the second international through the support of the bourgeois democratic dictatorship is now history.

The Revolutionary Workers League applies the same revisionist analysis to the Russian state and its economy, with this difference. The Revolutionary Workers League places this method on its head. Instead of characterizing the Russian state, and or its superstructure as progressive, the Revolutionary Workers League admits the workers have no state power, (yet, Russia, it maintains, is a workers state) that the political superstructure is reactionary; that the nationalized economy is progressive. All we have to do is take over the Russian state, through a "political" revolution; use police measures in suppressing the "bureaucracy" and restore the proletariat to "State power", no less.

In no sense can the proletariat be said to own the productive forces if it has no state power. The Russian revolution demonstrated that the proletariat must seize state power by smashing the bourgeois state, creating its own organs of domination (workers militia, revolutionary factory committees, workers councils etc.) and investing these with productive forces. The key to "who owns is expressed by the formula "who has the political power with which to own." Economic ownership is not an abstraction; It is a function of the proletarian state.

"The proletariat seizes state-power, and then transforms the means of production into state property." (Fredrick Engels - Anti-Duhring) - Proletarian power is expressed both politically and economically in the proletarian state. In this sense, politics, to use Marx's phrase is "concentrated economics."

In the proletarian dictatorship, economic ownership and the political direction of society are both invested in the hands of a single body, the state. Those who break up the concept of proletarian dictatorship into a body of "politically expropriated" proletarians who still exercise the power of economic ownership through a nationalized industry completely out of their control argue like 19th century liberals.

The proletariat, being propertyless, has no need of dividing its power into a class of owners and a separate bureaucracy of officials and armed thugs. The economic structure of the workers state is guaranteed through proletarian domination of the state, the vehicle for collective ownership of property.

In raising "nationalized property" in Russia to the level of definition of the worker's state the Revolutionary Workers League hides the real question. Which class rules? Who benefits from the economy? Do the workers derive the surplus value from production or does the Russian ruling class?

#### Expansion of Production and Real Wages

Stalin consistently presents statistics on output during the five year plans under the label "Socialist Successes". In all the rejoicing over output, the question is forgotten. Who profits from whom? Expansion of production, therefore takes on a new significance from a Marxist point of view. If the standard of



living of the toiling masses is not increased, but decreased as a result of this so-called expansion of production, economic planning and the monopoly of foreign trade in the Soviet Union are nothing but Russian forms of organizing production and the export-import trade for the profit of the Russian ruling class. Western capitalists and capitalists all over the world try to adjust production and foreign trade approximately to present and future demands consistent with an increased margin of profit. This kind of "planning", reducing the cost of labor, results in the pauperization of labor all over the world, Russia included.

The mere assertion that in the Soviet Union the principle behind production is something entirely different from the profit motive; that all surpluses are not stored in banks or warehouses but actually reinvested in the productive process or used to better the standard of living even though the Stalinists bureaucrats get the grave and the rest the leftovers does not reveal the truth about Russia. In order to reveal the facts we must know the effect of increased production on real wages, and the consequent ability of the masses to get adequate food, shelter, and clothing.

True, industrial production more than doubled during the two five year plans. But there was no corresponding increase in wages or in the supply of commodities. The disproportion between the volume of producers goods and consumers goods was growing in spite of the fact that by the end of the second five year plan and the beginning of the third, the production of machines was 28 times as much as in 1913.

In 1913, in pre-revolutionary Czarist Russia, consumers goods constituted 58.2% of national production while producers goods constituted 41.8% of total production. At the end of the second 5 year plan, producers goods were 60.7% of the total, while consumer's goods were 39.3% of the total. The supply of commodities for the maintenance of adequate living conditions of the masses in Russia with a population increase from 160,000,000 to 180,000,000 was 18% less than under the Czar.

The buying power of the wage-earners in Russia, or their real wages was lower than pre-war Russia and the masses had less meat. The Soviet of Peoples' Commissars issued a decree on Jan. 1, 1937 increasing the wages of all workers in the lower economic brackets to a minimum of from 110-115 rubles a month. From this 2 to 3 weeks wages were deducted annually for Govt. loans and other compulsory levies. One to 2% of the monthly wage was deducted for "trade union" dues and other fixed contributions. The net wage was actually, therefore 105 rubles a month.

Following table shows prices paid by minimum wage earners for food in 1911 and prices paid for some commodities in 1937 and 1938 in Govt. stores as recorded in Pravda for January 1 and Aug. 23, 1937, and Feb. 6, 1938.

	1911	1937-1938
Black bread.....	2.5	.43
Potatoes.....	.8	.14
Wheat cereal.....	3.8	.195
Sauerkraut.....	1.1	.25
Meat.....	13	.220
Sunflower oil.....	15	.600
Suet.....	14	.480

In 1937-38, prices for meat, bread and potatoes were 17-18 times as high as in 1911, 25 times as high for cabbage, 35-40 times as high for oil and fats, and 55 times as high for wheat cereals.

Nominal wages went up from 10 rubles a month in 1911 to 105 a month in 1937-38 or less than 11 times. Cost of workers food went up from 3.3 rubles a month to 58 rubles or nearly 18 times. Result - The real minimum wage in the Soviet Union much lower than lowest wage before 1st World War.

In addition it is extremely important to note that the Soviet Union includes as part of the wage income of the soviet worker, the so-called socialized wage. This socialized wage includes govt. expenditures on kindergarten and elementary education, cultural work of all types, apprentice system in the factories; health, hygiene medical services. This is a reactionary anti-labor device to make it appear as if soviet labor is living in an economic paradise, and thus make it appear that labor should be contented with its lot and has no right to rebel. Certainly, capitalism as we know it continually attempts to show the improved living condition of the workers under its rule. No bourgeois govt. as we know it, however, attempts to soft-pedal the impoverishment of the workers by mixing up labor reforms, public health and cultural services with the wages of the working class, i.e. buying power. Above all, the bourgeois pays the bills for training apprentices and does not consider it part of the wage income of the working class. Only under German Nazism and Italian fascism was this demagogic method used to make the toiling masses and the world at large think that conditions were bordering on paradise. If the wage income of the workers is computed by this anti-labor method, we should add the Brooklyn Bridge, as a public institution to our wages and the FBI, Yellowstone National Park and Niagara Falls as well. In the Soviet Union by this method, we could add to the workers wages, the Baltic-White Sea Canal, built by forced (slave) labor, the double-track of the Tran-Siberian railway built by forced (slave) labor, the Magnitogorsk plant built by forced (slave) labor. We should also include by the same token, the GPU which organizes & exploits directly the forced labor groups.

Let us scan the following table revealing levels of production in 1913 and beginning of the third five year plan in Textiles and Footwear:

1913		Beginning of 3rd Five Year Plan:	
Cotton Material	2854	3181	
Woolen Material	110	98	
Linen	219	287	
Footwear (pairs)	60	133	

The production of cotton goods was 63% of quota, woollens 45%, linen 48%, footwear 74%. With the exception of footwear, the figures are not very much more than pre-world war I levels, while population increase is 17-20 millions. These results cannot be remotely described as economic planning.

Throughout the history of Russia, the toiling masses were never adequately clothed. But they are less adequately clothed in the so called workers state than under the Czar. As we all know the Czarist government did not go in for economic planning, nor, as we all know did it concern itself with the welfare of the toiling masses. Yet, under Stalin's workers state, where the workers' welfare is supposed to be the historical goal, the workers at the beginning of the third five year plan had little more than two pairs of socks per person each year. More than one

third of cotton fabrics were of such inferior grade that it was impossible to use. As a result, the stocks of supply were smaller than 1913. A towel costs ten rubles. More than the average daily wage. A third-rate pair of boots cost 250 rubles, more than the average monthly wage.

In the important matter of shelter, the workers of the "workers' State" fare no better. Pravda of June 21, 1940 was enthusiastic about the completion of the new iron and steel plant at Novo-Tagil in the Urals.

But the same issue of the official government paper records the fact that factory sewers and homes for the workers were either non-existent or not completed. At one mine in the Donets Basin the workers' lived in a gloomy room which is never ventilated. In it are housed twenty persons. It is so cold, all occupants wear their coats. The room has no table, chairs, or any other furniture, with the exception of beds. The workers' at the giant Makeev metallurgical plant had no shelter whatever. Three hundred persons lived for months in the tunnel of the Martenovsk Unit, near the ovens of the rolling mill. At the Verkhnoisetsk Works in the Urals, married couples and single men are billeted in the same room of the barracks, sleeping on the bare floor. The room has no light with the exception of two or three small kerosene lamps without glass globes. It is terribly cold and dirty. At the Louberevsk Works, near Moscow, in a room of 468 sq. meters were quartered 148 persons. 40 of these were children less than ten years of age. The married and single lived together amidst hammering, noise and shouting. Night shift workers cannot find rest during the day. These are not the most extreme examples observed by Trud, official Soviet trade union paper. Multitudes were compelled to live in dug-outs, improvised hovels, without beds, blankets or any other human requirements.

The great bulk of living space belongs to the commissars, the directors of industry, the state officials and the state subsidized professionals. They are also adequately clothed and booted. They have motor cars, country and city homes, maids, butlers, yachts, etc. Their incomes compared to the workers is so great that they can be compared to the Fords, DuPonts, and Rockefellers. The capital assets of the rulers of Russia are so great that they live on the unearned increment received from interest on loans to the government through the state banks.

Their relationship to the toiling masses of Russia is exposed by the following percentages. The rulers of Russia are 14% of the population and receive 40% of the wealth. Forced labor is 12% of the population and receives 2% of the wealth. The industrial workers are 28% of the population and receive 31% of the wealth, the collectivized peasantry are 56% of the population receive 27% of the wealth.

The exploitation and impoverishment of the Russian working and toiling masses goes on apace. The expansion of the means of production has not resulted in the raising of the standard of living of the masses. We must therefore conclude that there has been no real expanded production, but overproduction of heavy plant and machinery, and appropriation of the surplus value thus created by the Russian state capitalists. Their organs of domination are well fed, clothed and housed (Red Army, GPU, etc.) in the best tradition of capitalist exploitation.

The working people of Russia are deprived of adequate food and clothing through the so called monopoly of foreign trade. Fur and grain, staples of Russian production, are sold on the world market for foreign exchange and capital goods. Yet grain production in the 1930s was only equal to the pre world war I production, while as late as 1939-40 production of grain was no greater than before the collectivization. (Research by Dr. N.M. Jasny). We note that the desire to attain a

favorable position on the world market resulted in a famine in which many millions died during the 30s.

### The Mode of Production

The mode of production up to the proletarian revolution was determined by what class was in power. The existence of a proletarian dictatorship per se does not signify that a change in the mode of production takes place. So long as labor exists as a social class, it possesses only its labor power. The value of labor is unrecognized; only its price is expressed like any commodity. Under any form of class rule, capitalist state or workers' state, the worker stands in the relation of seller to buyer. The price of his labor is his wages. His own state exploits him.

Karl Marx, discussing the characteristics of the capitalistic mode of production, makes clear what is meant by mode of production, and what is meant by capitalist mode of production.

The following quotations are from "Capital", Volume III:

(P. 1025) "Capitalist production is marked from the outset by two peculiar traits.

1: It produces its products as commodities. The fact that it produces commodities does not distinguish it from other modes of production. Its peculiar mark is that the prevailing and determining character of its products is that of being commodities. This implies in the first place, that the laborer himself acts in the role of the seller of commodities, as a free wage worker, so that wage labor is the typical character of labor. In view of the foregoing analysis, it is not necessary to demonstrate again that the relation between wage labor and capital determine the entire character of the mode of production.

2: (P. 1026) "The other specific mark of the capitalist mode of production is the production of surplus value as the direct aim in determining incentive of production".

(1027) Production which has for its incentive value and surplus value implies, as we have shown in the course of our analyses, the perpetually effective tendency to reduce the labor necessary for the production of a commodity, in other words, to reduce its value below the prevailing social average. The effort to reduce the cost price to its minimum, becomes the strongest lever for raising the social productivity of labor, which, however, appears under these conditions as a continual increase in the productive power of capital.

Marx, in his work "Poverty of Philosophy" indicates that the seizure of power by the working class and the nationalization of the means of production does not bring about a change in the mode of production; that the seizure of state power by the workers changes the historical goal of society so that Bourgeois society can be replaced by a society that excludes classes, through the transitional medium of the proletarian dictatorship.

"In the course of its development, the working class will replace the old Bourgeois society by an association which excludes classes and their antagonism, and there will no longer be any real political power, for political power is precisely the official expression of the class antagonism within Bourgeois society." (Poverty of Philosophy).



Engels in writing against the Proudhonist solution for society, shows clearly that the collective ownership of the means of production, such as land, does not change the mode of production.

"It is just the same as with the abolition of property in land, which is not the abolition of ground rent, but only its transfer, even though in modified form, to society. The actual taking possession of all instruments of labor by the working people therefore by no means excludes the retention of rent relations". (F. Engels, "The Housing Question", London & NY Edition, 1933)

Lenin, in analysing this question, writes: "Transition to a state of affairs when it will be possible to let houses without rent is bound up with the complete "withering away of the state". (State & Revolution, P. 50.)

Just so, we must conclude that wage-labor and capital, rent, interest and profit, as economic factors of and incentives to production will disappear with the "withering away of the state". In other words, at this historical stage of development of the relations in production, the mode of production undergoes a change when the fundamental opposing forces of society, capital and labor themselves cease to be commodities (i.e. measured in terms of exchange values, based upon the standard of value of gold) and instead becomes use-values. Socialism, classlessness, production for use, instead of for profit, in any form, introduces a new mode of production.

#### The Capitalist Counter Revolution

It is true, the Soviet Union is no longer a workers state, but a capitalist state, the following questions must be answered:

- 1- Did the counter-revolution achieve power "peacefully?"
- 2- Were "mere" police measures necessary to achieve power?
- 3- When did the counter-revolution take place?

No counter-revolution can take place peacefully. Police measures cannot be called a peaceful measure of achieving power. Police measures may be more violent and sweeping in its effects than an armed insurrection.

The Stalinist counter-revolution, successfully penetrating the whole Russian State from top to bottom, used ready made organs of coercion to stamp out the state power of the proletariat. The Stalinist penetration was possible because the then existing workers state, being a transitional society, still retained the capitalist mode of production, pending the over-throw of capitalism on a world scale. The early period of world imperialist war and revolution, characterized by the temporary defeat of the proletariat, aided the Stalinist counter-revolution in following its strategic course to a successful conclusion.

That conclusion was the restoration of capitalism in the form of state capitalism. It is the only explanation that explains on a valid basis the fundamental cause for the beheading of the October revolution and the failure to restore and extend the proletarian revolution. The Stalinist counter-revolution swept out of existence, both political and economic, the power of the working class.

The Society of Old Bolsheviks was dissolved. The League of Red Partisans, which fought in the civil war was dissolved. The Communist Youth League was abolished as a young workers political organization and is limited to "culture" and "sports".

Practically all of the leadership of the Russian Revolution, the Leninist Old Guard; the founders of the Communist International were wiped out as a result of the Moscow frame-up Trials. This leading workers apparatus numbered more than 200 persons. They are replaced in the domestic and foreign apparatus by outright opponents of the October Revolution. It is significant that some of the most articulate defenders of the Soviet Union today, were Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, Zionists, Petlurists, Denikinists, and all the brand of White-Guard counter-revolutionists. Men such as Maisky, Troyanovsky, Potemkin, Khinchuk, Suritz, Chubar, Zaslavsky (Lenin called him a "scoundrel" in 1917-18), Litvinov, etc., are in key positions today. Lest we forget, amongst the "accomplishments" of the counter-revolution was the sending into forced labor, prison, or death of untold thousands of revolutionaries and discontented workers. This enabled the Stalinist counter-revolution to overthrow the power of the workers in the factories. In their place was established the system of "unit direction", thereby enabling the "Red" factory directors to exercise unlimited power. This destroyed the organs of workers' self-government, the factory councils.

The Stalinist counter-revolution instituted the capitalist, speed-up system of piece-work wages on the basis of which in the best or worst traditions of Capitalism, the Stakhanovist labor aristocracy was created, who are most closely linked with the Russian ruling class. The income and standard of living of this bribed and corrupted section of the working class is five, ten, twenty, and more times higher than the income and living standards of the mass of Russian workers.

Russian state-capitalism in order to strengthen support for its infamous regime amongst the petty bourgeois peasantry has turned over land "in perpetuity" to individuals and groups. They are encouraged in all their individualistic and petty-bourgeois aspirations.

In the armed forces, the bourgeois officers corps has been created. The democratic inter-connection between officer and man is destroyed. Titles in the tradition of Czarism are restored; Marshals are created. Blind obedience, and national patriotism, instead of revolutionary internationalism are the ruling principles of the counter-revolutionary army of Stalinism.

The capitalist counter-revolution has extended its poisonous tentacles down to the domain of the family and sex. The family unit is restored in all of its sacred hypocrisy. The dominance of the family as the conservative economic unit of society is characteristic of all societies ruled by propertied classes since the beginning of Barbarism. Abortions are forbidden by law. All the forward-looking legislation for the purpose of educating the masses of workers in the best methods of contraception and rational sex relations is abolished. This has a degenerative effect on the poor, but no effect on the well-to-do and well-educated. Bonuses are decreed by the state for so and so many children born to a family. The command to breed is not the socialist ideal for women's status in the future society.

Education has suffered the consequences of the counter-revolution. The October Revolution abolished the Czarist institution of uniform, the Stalinist counter-revolution restored them. Co-education is abolished because of the officially announced intention to relegate Russian womanhood to the position of baby-breeders, instead of educating them to stand on a par with the male in shouldering the responsibility for furthering the cause of human freedom. Absolute obedience, parental tyranny, report cards, marks, examinations, characterize the reactionary system of pedagogy existing in teacher-pupil relations.

The crowning glory is observed when we note that on April 7, 1935, the state decreed the death penalty for crimes of theft, etc., committed by children beginning with the age of 12 years. One must study the history of the dark middle ages to find a parallel to this vicious piece of legislation.

No nation today has such a savage law on its statute books. If children are given the death penalty for crimes of theft etc., the necessities of life must be very meagre in the Soviet Union. This is a vivid commentary on the expansion of production and the so-called elevation of the standard of living in the "Workers State".

We are familiar with the zig-zags of Soviet foreign policy up to the war. In effect they represented the changing relationship of forces between the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis and Anglo-American French Imperialism in relationship to the Soviet Union. The Stalinist counter-revolution appeased and appeases these capitalist states by alliances now with one axis then another. Its political bargaining power is its ability to suppress, mislead, smash, destroy, and terrorize the proletarian revolution and the revolutionary internationalists.

The advance of the Stalinist arises into Eastern and Central Europe was preceded by wretched alliances of Soviet foreign policy with the Monarchies of Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Italy. These varieties of reaction have always been the official inspirers of anti-semitic pogroms, and terrorism against organized labor, not to mention the revolutionary movement. All of them are and continue to be the hand-maidens of fascist and feudal reaction. The policies of Stalinism are geared to this counter-revolutionary line.

We can state definitively, now that German Imperialism is crushed, that nowhere did the Stalinist armies liberate the forces of revolution. On the contrary, from central to Eastern Europe, the incipient proletarian revolution was smashed by the Stalinist machine. Puppets of Anglo-American Imperialism, neo-fascists and royalists were openly collaborated within Stalinist conquered territories. The recent decree in Stalinist occupied Germany to reconstitute all anti-fascist political parties under Soviet guidance is a patent fraud. This is the political formula under which favorable trade agreements are made with Anglo-American-French Imperialism for the continued exploitation of the European toiling masses under Russian-Allied heel. The climax in the story of the Stalinist counter-revolution is reached by sending into slavery (forced labor) in the Soviet Union of thousands upon thousands of Europe's proletariat from Germany to the Balkans. The allied Imperialists, learning from Stalinism are following the same policy. We are not surprised. Capitalism in decay resorts to methods of production reminiscent of antiquity and barbarism itself. The so-called workers state however, leads world capitalism in the march backward from free labor to a slavery, lower than feudal serfdom.

That is the story of the Stalinist counter-revolution. From its inception to its complete victory in the Soviet Union in 1936-1938; to its counter-revolutionary advance into Europe in 1945.

The defense of the Soviet Union today, is not a defense of the October revolution or of Socialism. It is the defense of a system not one bit different from the exploitive aims of capitalism. It is the defense of a system that debases, humiliates, demoralizes and oppresses mankind.

The revolutionary struggle against injustice, oppression and exploitation, the struggle for Socialism and the emancipation of all humanity, demands, on our revolutionary honor, the decisive break from any form of defense of reactionary Russia.